

THE GREAT QUESTIONS OF THE TIMES,

EXEMPLIFIED IN THE

ANTAGONISTIC PRINCIPLES

INVOLVED IN

The Slaveholders' Rebellion

AGAINST

DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

AS WELL AS AGAINST

THE NATIONAL UNION;

AS SET FORTH IN THE

SPEECH OF THE HON. LORENZO SHERWOOD,

EX-MEMBER OF THE TEXAN LEGISLATURE,

Delivered at Champlain, in Northern N. Y., Oct. 1862;

AND ALSO IN THE

1. RESOLUTIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE; 2. IN AN ECONOMIC VIEW OF THE PRESENT CONTEST, BY S. DEWITT BLOODGOOD;
3. IN THE VIEWS OF THE LOYAL PRESS OF THE NORTH;
4. AND IN AN INCIPIENT CHAPTER OF THE REBELLION, CONCERNING "THE TEXAN SECESSIONISTS, VERSUS, LORENZO SHERWOOD IN 1856."

ARRANGED FOR PUBLICATION, ON REQUEST FROM THE DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE AND OTHER FRIENDS OF THE UNION,
BY HENRY O'RIELLY.

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VIEWS OF THE LOYAL PRESS OF NEW YORK.

As Governor Hamilton thoroughly endorses all the statements of Mr. Sherwood, concerning the Origin and Objects of the Rebellion, the following passages, from prominent New York journals, may be appropriately quoted here:—

The Evening Post says: "Colonel Hamilton, of Texas, told his hearers that we, who support the government, fight not only for ourselves, but for the non-slaveholding whites of the South—to redeem them from the servitude in which they are held by the slaveholders; to regain for them the liberties snatched from them; to save them from the fate which is before them, of being made the victims of a cruel despotism. But he added, what is equally true, that our liberty will fall with theirs; and that every blow we strike for them is a blow for our own security."

And, adds the *Post*, "The slaveholders' rebellion was not only treason against the government, which every cup of their blood repeatedly sworn to maintain, but it was treason against the happiness, the liberty, the social progress of a great nation; it was their purpose to strike a blow at social order on this continent; to Mexicanize the American people; to break down all that Washington and Jefferson, and their fellows, gave their lives to build up; to destroy everything that has made the American people intelligent and happy at home, and honored and respected abroad." * * * * "They [the slaveholders] have asked no favor of us since; they fight on, sacrificing every interest of the poor whites, whom they have subjected to their wills, and willing to perish beneath the ruins of their system, rather than give up their bad hopes. We have no recourse, except to beat them; we must fight, or submit to these ferocious masters; we must fight our best against them; and those who talk of compromise, of concessions, of kindness, of conciliation here, either woefully fail to comprehend the issue, or they are speaking in the interest of the rebels; and seeking to distract and divide public sentiment here, only that the enemy may be the more easily and speedily gain his victory."

"Mr. Hamilton, though born, reared, and always living in the cotton States, is no conditional Unionist," says the *Tribune*. "He is openly, unequivocally, in favor of strangling the monster, Slavery, as well as his offspring, Treason—and, recognizing in slavery at least the fulcrum whereby the traitors were enabled to upset the loyalty of the South, he favors its demolition in order that loyalty may safely rear its head again. Believing that if slavery were extinguished, the rebellion would be a fire without fuel, he is a champion of the policy which says, 'Let slavery die, that so the Republic may live.' Regarding secession as a revolt against democratic institutions, in order that a narrow oligarchy may monopolize the semblance as well as the reality of power, he would crush out that oligarchy, by abolishing that which gives it unity and prestige, that so Liberty and Union may abide and flourish evermore. Such is the Hon. Andrew Jackson Hamilton, of Texas. Do not miss an opportunity to hear him, and let his earnest words fire your heart with a deeper devotion to freedom and our country."

And the *New York Daily Times* remarks that "Mr. Hamilton does not think that 'the South will be ruined' if slavery is destroyed. He thinks the slaveholders and rebels will be, but that the non-slaveholders of the South, who are the great majority of the white people there, will be happily enfranchised, set free, enriched and ennobled by that event, which crushes the aristocrats and oligarchs. This is a new view of the subject. It is a philosophic view taken by a free man of the South, in the interest of the South. It is a view that harmonizes with the emancipation edict of the government—that annihilates the sophisms of semi-traitors in the North—that kindles the hearts of free-men everywhere to a holy zeal against the selfish tyrants of the rebellion—that gives assurance of a new and a true life for the South after slavery is overthrown, and guarantees a Union as peaceful and enduring as its leading principles shall be free, humanizing, and eternal."

The World and Courier and Enquirer is equally emphatic. "The Northern people have accepted this war on too narrow grounds altogether," says that journal. "They have comprehended but a very meagre portion of the real interests at stake—for the very good reason that they have hardly begun to understand the spirit and aims of the rebel leaders. Had there been a better appreciation of the actual truth, the war would never have lagged as it has been suffered to do from the beginning."

"The evidence of such men as Col. Hamilton, who is fresh from the active scenes of the rebellion, and who has watched it with penetrating eye from its first step, is of peculiar value," says *The World*, in its daily issue of the 4th of October. "Their conclusions, formed on the spot, face to face with the monster, are of infinitely more weight than the notions of Northern men, who know it only by occasional glimpses in the far distance. It is well that their testimony should be brought before our public whenever it can be obtained. The gentlemen who have induced Col. Hamilton to address our people with instruction and appeal, have done the good cause precious service."

"Col. Hamilton has no hesitation in pronouncing the issue now pending to be THE VERY HIGHEST, AND BROADEST, AND DEEPEST POSSIBLE. It is, to his mind, nothing more nor less than A STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE ULTIMATE PRINCIPLES OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT—a question whether the rule of the few or the rule of the many shall prevail. He presents it as his settled conviction that the leaders in this rebellion are actuated by a distinct purpose, to SUPPLANT POPULAR GOVERNMENT and ESTABLISH A MONARCHY—and that this comes from their belief that slavery can have no effectual safeguard, except what the strongest form of government can afford. Therefore, he warns us not to rest upon the idea that mere territory, or even mere nationality, is at stake in this conflict."

"What has really got to be decided, as he justly views it," adds *The World*, "is, not whether the flag itself shall be deprived of a third of its stars, or whether the flag itself shall continue to exist, but whether the republican principle, which has given the flag all its glory, is or is not to perish. He rightly declares that the co-existence of a monarchy and a republic between the great lakes and the Gulf is a civil impossibility—that such an experiment would only be another name for perpetual war."

"We are, therefore, shut up to the absolute necessity of meeting this question now, once for all," continues *The World*, "and, in fidelity to the great principles of the Declaration of Independence which our forefathers sealed with their blood, are bound to prosecute this war with an energy and a self-devotion far beyond anything we have yet displayed. These are great facts which Col. Hamilton seeks to enforce. He talks like a man who is thoroughly pervaded by a sense of their awful moment—and no mind that heeds his disclosures and his arguments, can doubt that he is right."

The wide-spread circulation and approbation bestowed on a previous pamphlet, concerning these important topics, warrant the belief that loyalists, South and North, will aid in disseminating the additional information contained in the present publication.

HENRY O'BRIEN.

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P R E F A C E.

"I FULLY concur in all that is contained in that speech," says the distinguished southern loyalist, Col. Andrew Jackson Hamilton, the last Democratic Congressman from Texas, recently appointed provisional governor of Texas. "These matters are not new to either Mr. Sherwood or myself, nor do we now for the first time interchange opinions upon them," adds Governor Hamilton—"for, together we have, in years past, watched the inevitable tendency in the South to the present deplorable condition of our country." "There are few men of my acquaintance," concludes Gov. Hamilton, "who are so well prepared, from observation, experience, and reflection, to think wisely and act justly in the premises, as Mr. Sherwood."—(Vide Hamilton's letter, in reference to Sherwood's speech at Paterson, New Jersey.) "The leaders in this rebellion," adds Gov. Hamilton, "are actuated by a distinct purpose, to SUPPLANT POPULAR GOVERNMENT, and ESTABLISH A MONARCHY, with Slavery as its corner-stone"—adding that, "If you could, as I have done, hear, in the hotels and in the streets and in parlors, echoes of that sentiment from men who, two years ago, were regarded as loyal, saying, '*Republicanism is a failure*—we are astonished that we ever thought it could succeed—we now realize the fact that we must have a stronger government'—if you knew it, as I know it, you would feel, fellow-citizens, that there was something more involved in this revolution than a simple desire to get rid of the 'hated Yankee.' It was not because the men who inaugurated it, hated the people of the North—it was not because they felt that you had seriously wronged them—but it was a deliberate purpose on their part to be the controlling spirits in a new and different order of government, where their power would be perpetual, and they would not be subjected to the chances of the free choice of a free people in recurring elections, as had been the case in past time in our country; and he that does not realize that fact to-day, does not yet understand what that rebellion means, and, by consequence, the man that is to-day flattering himself that, by conciliatory measures, by kind words, by peace-offerings, the disloyal States can be caused to resume their position in the Confederacy, is woefully deceived—it never will happen in that way. There is but one remedy, and that is in the physical power of the loyal people of the North—the physical power, directed by the exercise of sufficient thought to lead you to just conclusions as to what the consequences are to be to you, as well as to the balance of the people of the United States, in case of failure."

* * * "I have grown wearied and disgusted with the mawkish sensibility over the negro, when there is so much higher and more available ground to take in favor of the white man," says Lorenzo Sherwood. * * * "My sympathies are enlisted in the great cause of white humanity in its shirt-sleeves—of that twenty-seven millions of American free citizens who are bound to the eternal business of subsistence through their own industry. Their lot is to toil—to toil on from generation to generation: and a pretty business it is for less than one hundred thousand slaveholders to set these toiling millions to cutting one another's throats!"

* * * "Our non-slaveholding masses in the South are gradually getting to understand the real question better. The information of the North, concerning the secret motives of the traitors, is rapidly being improved. It is the business of the Union-men from the far South—coming from the very heart of this rebellion—to stamp the motives of the treason upon the future history of this war."

— And nowhere have the motives and the treason been more vividly exposed and denounced, than in the Champlain speech of Lorenzo Sherwood, as even the brief report in these pages will indicate.

HENRY O'RIELLY.

THE following correspondence explains the circumstances connected with the present publication :—

NEW YORK, Nov. 17, 1862.

HON. LORENZO SHERWOOD—

DEAR SIR : Having been informed of the positions taken by you in a late speech, at Champlain, in Northern New York, concerning the origin and objects of the Slaveholders' Rebellion, we respectfully request from you a report of that speech, for publication.

A report of that particular speech is deemed most desirable, as your remarks on that occasion are said to have included a broader and deeper examination than has hitherto been devoted to an exposure of the schemes and hypocrisy with which the traitors masked their plans and operations, during their long preparations for destroying our government.

As that distinguished southern loyalist, Col. Hamilton, of Texas, has publicly declared that there are "few men of his acquaintance who are so well prepared as Mr. Sherwood, from observation, experience, and reflection, to think wisely and act justly," on the great questions connected with the Rebellion, and the condition of the Southern people, we consider it a public duty, at this crisis, to aid in disseminating the information which you have collected on those important subjects, during your long residence in the South, including your service in the Texan legislature; and we, therefore, particularly request the above-mentioned copy for publication—harmonizing as it does with, and fully sustaining, the positions asserted in the publications of the DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE, concerning "the Slaveholders' Rebellion against democratic principles, as well as against the national unity."

Yours respectfully,

THOMAS EWBANK,
CHAS. P. KIRKLAND,
HENRY O'RIELLY,
GEORGE P. NELSON,
JOHN J. SPEED,
HENRY C. GARDINER,
and others.

REPLY.

NEW YORK, Nov. 18, 1862.

GENTLEMEN : I am in receipt of your kind and complimentary note of yesterday, requesting a copy of the speech lately made by me at Champlain, for publication. I will endeavor to comply with your request at the earliest day practicable.

Be assured, gentlemen, of my readiness to co-operate in any manner that may prove effective in bringing the motives of this rebellion distinctly to the public view. When this is effectually done, we shall all see alike the real nature of the antagonisms now in conflict. Until the public mind settles down into a fixed belief, that these antagonisms are not reconcilable, there will be much danger from distracted opinions and counsels.

Very truly yours, &c.,

LORENZO SHERWOOD.

THOMAS EWBANK, Esq.,
and others.

THE GREAT QUESTIONS OF THE REBELLION.

MR. SHERWOOD'S SPEECH AT CHAMPLAIN.

MY FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN :

I come to you as one of the representatives of the unionists of the far South. I have come to speak to you upon the subject of our national difficulties, and to elucidate to your minds the causes in which they originated. We all know that we are in the midst of civil war. We know that traitors are endeavoring to overthrow the jurisdiction of the national government, and that the patriotic and loyal portion of our people are fighting and sacrificing to sustain it. This is patent to all minds. It is equally clear that the traitors of the South plotted the treason and commenced the war to consummate it through the law of force.

What has most puzzled the minds of our countrymen, North and South, has been the difficulty of getting at the real, secret, and impelling motives that led the slaveholders into rebellion. This is a most important question for us all to understand. Without knowing this, it is impossible for us to understand whether the motives that instigated the rebellion were built up on fancies or realities. It is of the first importance for us to determine whether the jealous reasonings of slaveholders rested on premises that composed an irreconcilable antagonism of free government, or whether they were mere idle theory, that rational reasoning, under apprehended calamity, might remove. If it is ascertained that the causes that led to this rebellion are composed of antagonisms that cannot abide together in peace—such as must culminate in convulsion from their opposite natures, the sooner we all understand the question alike the better. When the public mind is drawn definitely to this conclusion, then will our people and government

know how much permanent peace it is possible to gain by attempted conciliation or compromise. We shall know equally well whether it is of imperious necessity to prosecute this war until one or the other of these antagonisms is subdued.

In order to present the reasonings that influenced the slaveholders to enter upon the attempted revolution, I must bring into review the sentiments and opinions that have been common to the American mind. I refer you to that public opinion, North and South, that "slavery, sooner or later, must lose its prestige, and go out under the laws of population and subsistence." It was the opinion of Mr. Jefferson, that, "under free government, when the population became crowded, slavery must give way." This was the declared opinion of all the old statesmen of Virginia—I might say of every intelligent man in the South since the Revolution. I need not say to you that it has been no less the public opinion of the North. You have heard this doctrine reiterated by the press, and by the representatives of every political party. When told by a class of political philosophers who assumed that "slavery was an intolerable evil," our people have given the answer: "True, it is an evil, but we must bear with it, and let it go out under the laws of population." There has never been any other opinion, North or South, than that slavery, under free government, must ultimately recede and go out before the power of the enfranchised masses. Whether this theory was true or false, it was public opinion. It was this consideration that intensified the jealousy of the slaveholder, and made him politically frantic over the anticipated fate of the institution.

In illustration of this theory, allow me to recite a paragraph from a speech made some years since in a Southern legislature. In commenting upon the effect of population upon slavery, the speaker said:

"Less than twenty years since, the declaration was made in the senate of the United States, that 'two hundred years hence the question of slavery would be precisely what it then was.' That senator was mistaken. He spoke from impulse, and reasoned not from a prophetic survey of the probable—we might almost say, of the established future. Should the population of these states progress in the ratio of the past, twenty-five years will increase our numbers to fifty millions. Fifty years will swell them to a hundred; and at the end of seventy-five years will two hundred millions of human beings inhabit the soil of our country. The child that is born to-day may live to see his offspring clamoring for the space the black man now occupies."

I must invite you, my friends, to keep steadily in your minds this theory as to the effect of the laws of population upon slavery. If you do so, it will greatly assist you in your just conclusions as to the motives that germinated the rebellion into growth, and what class of our countrymen is responsible for this war. If you make your survey from this standpoint, you will not be mistaken. You will go to the root of the question. You will be enabled to distinguish the deep-seated, impelling motive, from the false pretences that have been artfully thrown upon the surface in order to disguise the political enormity that lay beneath.

It is now historically established that the programme for secession was adopted at the Nashville convention in 1850. This was done in secret session, and under the auspices of John C. Calhoun. It was then, at that time and place, that treason made its political survey and established its base line of operations, from which, and back to which, all the subsequent calculations and plottings have been made. It will be remembered that this was during the Taylor-Fillmore administration—the former a Southern Presi-

dent, and the latter most adulated of all by slaveholders for subserviency to the South. Let it be remembered, also, that at the time this treason was practically resolved on, no Fremont, Lincoln, or republican party existed, that had any prominence as a political organization before the public. Let us take this date of the programme of treachery, in connection with what Mr. Spratt, of South Carolina, subsequently declared in his famous letter to Mr. Perkins, of Louisiana. He assumed that "there was no man in the South who deserved the name of statesman who would pretend that secession was caused by any aggression of the North upon the rights of the South"—that "it was still less the result of any act of oppression on the part of the United States government"—that "the reason was, because of the difference in the organization of society North and South"—"it was because, in the non-slaveholding states, from the very fact that every man was a freeman, the North was naturally democratic"—"every man being a freeman, the result was that the laboring class, in the non-slaveholding states had the power of government, and it required but little argument to prove, when that was the case, government, instead of being in the head, was in the heels of society." Mr. Spratt further assumed that "no greater truth was ever uttered than that uttered by Mr. Seward, when he said, 'there was an irrepressible conflict between the two systems of society.'"

I have had much opportunity for knowing, and do know, that this was the identical view taken of the question by the secessionists. To illustrate how strongly the real motives to the rebellion were impressed upon my mind before secession, allow me to cite a paragraph contained in a pamphlet communication, sent by me to Texas, in the fall of 1860. In this pamphlet, I endeavored to warn the people of that state of the designs of treason to overthrow free government in the Southern states. This pamphlet was written before secession, and I remember to have penned the paragraph I now cite, on the evening that William L. Yancey

addressed a meeting at the Cooper Institute :

THE PARAGRAPH.

"To go back a little : some of the statesmen of South Carolina affected to discover the seeds of an 'irrepressible conflict,' at a much earlier day than Mr. Seward. They had witnessed the flow of Southern population to the North, and the transfer of representation along with it. For many years past, have they affected to deplore a government of majorities. It was prophesied by them, that any material disturbance of the balance of power, would be the 'knell for dissolving the Union.' The principles of the Roman and Grecian Republics have been admired and applauded, while Aristotle's 'theory of a perfect society' has been their text-book. Jefferson's views, and the views of the old statesmen of Virginia, have been denounced and repudiated. A government, founded on class, partly of *quasi* patrician and partly of plebeian representation, has been broached. As incident to its anticipations, the reopening of the African slave-trade has been urged, in order to supply more fully the necessary requirement for servile labor; the whole of this to be upheld and maintained by the broadest possible organization of military force. Here, then, is a suggested military republic, with a government of checks and balances in analogy to the English parliament; and all predicated on the supposed necessity, of not only governing the servile labor, but to place a barrier to the future influence of the non-slaveholding population."

This was then my fixed belief as to the motives that moved in the under current of the rebellion which was then threatened; but which is now known to have been determined on ten years previous. This view of the case had been most painfully impressed upon my mind for some years, and from matters that had been thrust upon my attention by the whole compass of reasonings on the part of those who advocated secession. It was the more painful, because I knew that the question involved a conflict between deep-seated antagonisms that no

compromises could avert or cure. I will be pardoned for speaking of my own views at that early day. I had been placed in contact with the traitors, and had long sojourned in their midst. I come now to relate my experiences, and to assist my countrymen to throw the responsibility of this war, and the cause of it, where they belong.

We must allow the repudiators of democratic government, who have labored through years of preparation to throw off the national jurisdiction, to be the expositors of their reasons for so doing. Their real motives for the rebellion are one thing, and their false pretences in the management of the incidents quite another. It is very necessary, as before suggested, to discriminate between the simulated and the real. I will now bring to your attention the famous letter of Mr. Garnett, of Virginia, to Mr. Trescott, of South Carolina, written in 1851. This letter was a prisoner-of-war. It was captured at the late residence of Mr. Trescott on Barnwell's Island, by Gen. Hunter. It bears evidence on its face of the settled designs of treason. Bear with me, my friends, while I read it, for it is full of the most significant instruction.

THE LETTER.

"VA. CONVENTION, May 3, 1851.

"MY DEAR SIR: You misunderstood my last letter, if you supposed that I intended to visit South Carolina this spring. I am exceedingly obliged to you for your kind invitations, and it would afford me the highest pleasure to interchange, in person, sentiments with a friend whose manner of thinking so closely agrees with my own. But my engagements here closely confine me to this city, and deny me such a gratification.

"I would be especially glad to be in Charleston next week, and witness your convention of delegates from the Southern Rights Associations. The condition of things in your state deeply interests me; her wise foresight and manly independence have placed her as the head of the South, to whom alone true-hearted men can look with any hope or pleasure.

Momentous are the consequences which depend upon your action. Which party will prevail, the immediate secessionists, or those who are opposed to separate state action at this time? For my part, I forbear to form a wish. Were I a Carolinian it would be very different; but when I consider the serious effects the decision may have on your future weal or woe, I feel that a citizen of a state which has acted as Virginia, has no right to interfere, even by a wish. If the general government allows you peaceably and freely to secede, neither Virginia nor any other Southern state would, in my opinion, follow you at present. But what would be the effect upon South Carolina? Some of our best friends here supposed that it would cut off Charleston from the great Western trade which she is now striking for, and would retard very greatly the progress of your state. I confess that I think differently. I believe thoroughly in our own theories, and that if Charleston did not grow quite so fast in her trade with other states, yet the relief from federal taxation would vastly stimulate your prosperity. If so, the *prestige* of the Union would be destroyed, and you would be the nucleus for a Southern confederation at no distant day. But I do not doubt, from all I have been able to learn, that the federal government would use force, beginning with the form most embarrassing to you, and least calculated to excite sympathy: I mean a naval blockade. In that event, could you withstand the reaction feeling which the suffering commerce of Charleston would probably manifest? Would you not lose that in which your strength consists, the union of your people? I do not mean to imply an opinion. I only ask the question. If you force this blockade, and bring the government to direct force, the feeling in Virginia would be very great. I trust in God it would bring her to your aid. But it would be wrong in me to deceive you by speaking certainly. I cannot express the deep mortification I have felt at her course this winter. But I do not believe that the course of the legislature is a fair expression of the popular feeling. In the

east, at least, the great majority believe in the right of secession, and feel the deepest sympathy with Carolina in opposition to measures which they regard as she does. But the west—Western Virginia—there is the rub! Only 60,000 slaves to 494,000 whites. When I consider this fact, and the kind of argument which we have heard in this body, I cannot but regard, with the greatest fear, the question whether Virginia would assist Carolina in such an issue.

"I must acknowledge, my dear sir, that I look to the future with almost as much apprehension as hope. *You well object to the term democrat. Democracy, in its original philosophical sense, is, indeed, incompatible with slavery, and the whole system of Southern society.* Yet, if we look back, what change will you find made in any of our state constitutions, or in our legislation, in its general course for the last fifty years, which was not in the direction of democracy? Do not its principles and theories become daily more fixed in our practice? I had almost said in the opinions of our people, did I not remember with pleasure the great improvement of opinion in regard to the abstract question of slavery. And if such is the case, what have we to hope for the future? I do not hesitate to say that if the question is raised between Carolina and the federal government, and the latter prevails, the last hope of republican government, and I fear of Southern civilization, is gone. Russia will then be a better government than ours.

"I fear that the confusion and interruption under which I write may have made this a rather rambling letter. Do you visit the North in the summer? I should be happy to welcome you to the Old Dominion.

"I am much obliged to you for the offer to send me Hammond's Eulogy on Calhoun; but I am indebted to the author for a copy.

"With esteem and friendship, yours truly,

"M. R. H. GARNETT.

"WM. H. TRESCOTT, Esq."

In all the documentary evidence yet

obtained, there is nothing perhaps more significant of meaning than this letter. When we look at the parties, we find one then sitting as a member of the Virginia convention to revise the constitution of the state. The other was afterward assistant secretary of state under Mr. Buchanan. They were both confidential and leading spirits of the conspiracy. When we look to the date of the letter, we find it following almost immediately after the secession convention at Nashville. When we look at its matter, we find a great solicitude for the destruction of the "prestige of the Union." When we look to its contemplation of intended war, we discover the strong anxiety to have matters brought to the phase of bloodshed as a means of intensifying Southern alacrity in treason; but, the most important of all considerations, expressed in this letter, is the alarm at the idea of "democracy" in its philosophical sense. What he had heard in the convention, of which he was then sitting as a member, was alarming. It was most alarming, indeed, that the "theories and principles of democracy should have become daily more fixed in practice"—that such being the case, "the Southern system had nothing to hope for in the future, unless in connection with the separation of the states, and the establishment of a new form of government." This is the full meaning of that letter, and it accords with the impelling motives and views of the whole secession forces that raised up the conspiracy.

Let us refer to another witness—the highly honorable gentleman to whom this letter was addressed. This same Mr. Trescott, in an address delivered by him some years since, before the Historical Society of South Carolina, assumed—

"That the institution of slavery, which, with the men of former times, was an experiment, had become the corner-stone of their social and political life; and yet," said he, "there are some men in South Carolina who would eradicate the old state pride—destroy the conservative character of its state politics—strip us bare of the glorious achievements of the past, and drive us, destitute and dishon-

ored, into a fit companionship of a vagabond and demoralized democracy."

We discover in this address the same terrific apprehension of the slaveholders, excited by the democratic element in their midst. Allow me here to allude to the state of society in South Carolina, which will explain the reason why the democratic element in that state could be reviled by the slaveholders with impunity. The slaveholding interest of that state had long been in the entire ascendancy. The really democratic element of the state was subordinated to the lowest level of political degradation. It was not strong enough to raise even a remonstrating voice against the political abuse of slaveholders, and stood in a very different position from that of the non-slaveholding population of most of the other states. It was politically helpless. This accounts for South Carolina execration of "white trash." It would not do to indulge in the same strain of revilement in other states, where the democratic forces had something better in acknowledged political rights. Had such language been openly indulged in by the traitors of Texas, treason would have stood little chance of maturing its plans for secession in that state. Fraud, false pretences, and hypocrisy of every grade, were employed. Disguise of the real motive, and substitution of a false motive, were resorted to in all places where the democratic element had acknowledged power. This was also the reason why the anti-democratic class in South Carolina was enabled to take and keep the lead of all others, in the initiatory process of abrogating a government of majorities in the South.

When Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, gave in his adhesion to the Southern Confederacy, his speech was wonderfully significant of the doctrine to which he had been suddenly converted. It was not deemed necessary by him to refute his own arguments previously made. At a bound, he saw fit to overleap the position and judgment of his whole political life, fortified as that position had been by a reputation for generous and patriotic sensibilities. When precipitated by ambition into the pitfall of political degrada-

tion, he was ready to declare slavery the "corner-stone" of the Southern social and political edifice. Of a sudden, it became the *beau idéal* of his newly-enlightened vision. Years of contemplative reflection became nothing. He pronounced the words in their full meaning, that, when understood, are made to exclude all idea of the democratic principle in government.

I fear, my friends, that I may weary your patience by these recitals from the records of treason. It is, however, so necessary that our countrymen should all understand the real motives and reasonings in which the rebellion originated, that I trust you will bear with me a little longer. If the traitors have agreed that the enfranchisement of the masses in connection with democratic government, was the great source of danger to them; and if they have instituted this conspiracy to overthrow free government for that reason, we shall all know how to deal with the question when that object is made apparent. Allow me to read to you a paragraph from a speech made in the Vicksburg secession convention of 1859. This speech I can now produce in full. The extract may produce additional light to your minds as to the feeling of execration by slaveholders towards the democratic element of the South.

THE PARAGRAPH.

"While our population has advanced, there has been no proportionate advancement in the number of slaves. The widening west has made demand of slaves upon the older states—the older states have been compelled to yield to such exaction. With every transportation there was hiring labor ready to supply its place: with hiring labor came the form and spirit of democracy. It made its way across the border—it overspread the states of Delaware and Maryland—it extended in the states of Kentucky, Missouri, and Virginia—it entered into Southern cities—it glided into schools and pulpits—it crept about the halls of legislation; and so it is, that we are not

alone in the contest with the North, which bears the banners of democracy, but with the democracy itself within the states, the cities, and the institutions of the South."—The speaker assumed, that, if this democracy could not be got rid of, "the separation from the North would merely adjourn the contest"—that, "as this Southern democracy grapples slavery in its homes, and on its hearthstones, slavery was like the Thracian horse that bore its rider from the field, and that, escaping enemies abroad, it would be forced to wage a still more deadly contest with its enemies at home."

I am aware, my friends, that this is language to which your democratic ears are not accustomed. It may seem strange to you, that men, living under free government, should become so opposed to that government as to enter into conspiracy against its principles; but, had you been accustomed to hear what I have heard through a long series of years, and did you know, as I have known, the impelling motives whence it sprung, you would not be astonished. It has been the fullest conviction on the minds of slaveholders for years, that democracy and slavery were incompatible—that they were irreconcilable antagonisms, the one of which must go under.

In an essay, written by J. Quitman Moore, of Mississippi, and published in the Charleston Mercury, and republished in De Bow's Review, in 1861, the author, in revilement, of the democratic principle, says:

"Those pestilent and pernicious dogmas—'the greatest good of the greatest number'—'the majority shall rule'—are, in their practical application, the frightful source of disorders never to be quieted—philosophies the most false, and passions the most wild, destructive, and ungovernable. In America," says this author, "by reason of the operation of causes wholly extraneous to the considerations of government and society, the republican experiment has been prolonged beyond recorded precedent; but, painful as the reflection must be to all such as subscribed to the Utopian philosophy, and have an abiding faith in the capacity of

man for enlightened self-rule, it must be confessed that the experiment of the democratic republic of America has failed." The author concludes, that "the institution of an hereditary senate and executive is the political form best suited to the genius, and most expressive of the ideas, of the South."

In this repudiation of the Jeffersonian doctrine by Mr. Moore, we find the exact reflex of the advocates of that government, from which it cost our fathers a seven years' war to separate. Says Col. Hamilton, who recently came from the South: "I have heard in hotels, in the streets, in parlors, echoes from men who, two years ago, were regarded as loyal, saying: 'Republicanism is a failure;' 'we are astonished that we ever thought it could succeed;' 'we now realize the fact that we must have a stronger government.'" If we turn to the British reviews for the last eighteen months, we find the corresponding echoes: "The democratic government in America has failed;" "we have always prophesied that it would fail;" "we have always known that it lacked the cohesive power to maintain its jurisdiction over an empire of such magnitude." Thus we have it, the sympathetic choros to the dirge of democracy's downfall has been echoed and responded by the traitors in America, and the sympathizing aristocracy and monarchists of England. Every steamer, for the last year and a half, has borne this delightful interchange of sentiment between these haters of democracy in the South, and their co-revilers and allies in Europe. If we consult the political literature of the South, that which represents the slaveholders as a class (and no other is tolerated), we find the exact parallel to the tory platform of Great Britain. Not the first generous democratic sentiment is put forth. On the contrary, democracy is reviled, while "primogeniture," "entails," "stronger government," and all the incidents of hereditary monarchy and aristocracy, are unsparingly advocated. I venture the assertion, that you could no more pass what would here be termed a democratic resolution, or resolution embracing a demo-

cratic sentiment, in a convention of slaveholders, than you could pass it in the British House of Lords. They do not believe in the exercise of political power by the masses. Much less they firmly believe that, in order to maintain slavery unimpaired, it is necessary to take from the masses in the South the power they now possess.

In order to illustrate more fully the force of the motive to crush out democracy in the South, allow me to repeat an argument I had occasion to make before a late audience in New Jersey:

"When we look at the nature of the institution, and the results flowing from it, we can discover the strong pecuniary motive for maintaining it. Aside from the profits of agricultural products, sixty millions per year were added to the increase of slave property through the laws of generation. Three per cent., or thereabouts, annually compounded, added to the profits of agriculture, swelled the slaveholders' profits to ten, twelve, and fifteen per cent. annually. This enabled the slaveholders to monopolize the good lands and the force to cultivate them. In this way the institution was peculiarly calculated to perpetuate wealth in families, and to continue it in the family descent. But how was this descent of property, and this increase of the future millions upon millions of slaves to be held in bondage? Here were seven millions of non-slaveholders, composing the democratic element of the South. It was an enfranchised, voting power. It was attached to free government, and had drunk in the idea of free government the same and as fully as the people of the North. This population, in twenty-three to twenty-five years, would swell to fourteen millions. Five decades would swell it to twenty-eight millions, while the same length of time would swell the slaveholding element to six millions only. Antagonisms between these democratic and anti-democratic forces were sure to rise up as population became crowded. Under this regime, the antagonistic elements in society, under the laws of population and subsistence, must soon come in conflict.

"There was another consideration with slaveholders, and one of most vital energy in impelling them to the project of taking away the power of the masses. The property in slaves was political property. It depended for its duration upon the action of political forces and the policy of the state under the operation of those political forces: hence slaveholders were jealous of the masses. They were anti-democratic, from supposed necessity. They must possess and wield the exclusive political power of the state, and continue to exercise it, for whenever they lost it, and the prestige of its antagonism should come into the ascendency, the downfall of slavery would take its date. This process of reasoning, whether true or false, was the theory of the slaveholding interests in the South. It was the impelling motive, not only for the conspiracy to throw off the national jurisdiction, but to overthrow free government in the South. Their aim and object is, and from supposed necessity, to overthrow democracy. The effort to do this is backed, not only by supposed necessity, in order to preserve slavery unimpaired, but by the whole train of ambitious motives connected with the raising up of an organized and cemented aristocracy."

THE IDEA OF CONCILIATION A DELUSION.

The most painful complexion of the political question, connected with the prosecution of the war, has been the delusion as to the real motives of the traitors, and the still more dangerous delusion founded on the supposition that they could be conciliated. While waiting for this, we have seen our armies wasted by the diseases of camp life; we have seen the resources of the nation undergoing rapid exhaustion from delay; we have seen the danger of foreign intervention whenever we should become weakened by discouragements or exhausted in finance. Thousands upon thousands have exclaimed, "Will not our government, our generals, our armies, and our people, open their eyes to this most fatal delusion before it is too late?" We know it to be the case that many of our well-intentioned

fellow-citizens are still laboring under the delusion that political matters are yet susceptible of an accommodation between our government and the treacherable influences that inaugurated the conspiracy. If we fail, this will have been the fatal "rock on which we split." Let me admonish my countrymen to indulge in this disastrous error no longer. What preposterous reasoning it must be to suppose we can conciliate those whose motive it was to strike down the political rights of the masses in the South! But how is it possible to conciliate these traitors, even under their apprehended calamity? Their secret motives are now fully divulged. Their intent to throw off republican government has been promulgated in the South. It has been promulgated through the North. It has been urged in Europe, as the basis of alliance and sympathy with the rebel cause. We know that the intent to prostrate the democratic principle in Southern politics cannot be disguised or concealed from the Southern masses, and the traitors know it as well as we. What, then, would be the condition of the traitors should they consent to a restoration of the Union? Who would answer for the blood of the children of the South that has been spilled in the war to overthrow free government? Who would stay the hand of indignation when the fathers and mothers, brothers, sisters, and wives of the slain, with knowledge of the motives of the rebellion should demand of the traitors, "Is this the feast to which you invited us? Is this the reason why you coerced your countrymen into the rebel service? What apology have you for seeking to convert the masses of the South into an agency for the overthrow of their cherished political rights? This, then, is the motive to your treason! We demand at your hands the blood of those you have sacrificed!" What would be the condition of the rebel generals and naval commanders—those who have betrayed their government? Would they presuppose the consent of the nation to restore them to military or naval command, or would they contemplate the certain abasement that follows infidelity

and treachery? I need not carry this argument further. You could not, if you would, my countrymen, take the first step in conciliation, unless you could perform a political miracle. You could not, if you would, conciliate these authors of the treason for the reason that you could not, if you would, conciliate your injured countrymen, North and South, who have suffered so much, and sacrificed so much. The leading traitors, like the veiled prophet of Khorasan, cast their destiny upon the hope of success only. They know that defeat is ruin—that compromise would be ruin; and that degradation lies in every pathway but that of success. They would sooner, like their exemplar, cast themselves into the “pit of burning aquefortis” than submit, dishonored and disarmed, to the never-ending reproaches of their injured countrymen. From these leading traitors—these spirits that inaugurated the conspiracy—you may expect nothing but desperation to the last. They know that victory, or the “bridge of sighs,” is their doom.

THE IRRECONCILABLE NATURE OF THE ANTAGONISMS.

Let me exhort you, my friends, to take into contemplation the full nature of these opposing principles that are now in conflict in this war. It behooves us all to analyze to their root the irreconcilable forces thrown into antagonism, and now exhibiting the last form of antagonism through the law of force. Eighteen hundred and sixty years ago, or thereabouts, the great Nazarene philosopher promulgated the sentiment, that we should “do to others as we would they should do unto us.” At a later day this sentiment found its political corollary in the expressive words, “Equal and exact justice to all men.” At a still later day the same sentiment was incorporated into the great Bill of Human Rights, penned by Jefferson, and adopted by our fathers as the permanent foundation of good government. For the purpose of establishing this government, they revolted from the authority of Britain; and repudiated

monarchy and aristocracy as inconsistent with protection to popular rights. In the fundamental law they guaranteed free republican government to the people of all the states. As a means of securing it, they interdicted the establishment of any order of nobility. Protection of popular rights through popular suffrage—prevention of perpetuated wrong through the distribution of power—was their doctrine. If I mistake not, the great bulk of their descendants have not yet apostatized from this doctrine. I would assert, without the fear of contradiction, that twenty-seven and one half out of the twenty-nine millions of the free white population of these states are yet lovers of free government, and attached to all the principles connected with its just administration. I have circulated among this population from the extreme north to the extreme south; from the east to the far west; have analyzed its sentiments, and know this declaration to be true. Seven millions in the South, with more than twenty millions in the North, have the same attachments to free institutions—the same abiding faith that such are best for them and their posterity.

Unfortunately, however, for the peace of our country, the class in the South, composed of slaveholders and their families, have proposed to take the back track in political destiny. They number, in the aggregate, not to exceed fifteen hundred thousand. As a class, with some honorable exceptions, the declaration of Mr. Moore, “that an hereditary senate and executive are best suited to their genius and ideas of government,” is true. With them, as a class, the sentiment in favor of free government was long since debauched.

Let us now, my friends, endeavor to keep in mind first principles while we make the inquiry: how, and in what manner, may we expect to reconcile these antagonisms? The one rests on natural rights and fundamental principles engrafted upon our free institutions; the other seeks to make slavery “the chief cornerstone” of its political edifice, acknowledges itself the antagonism of philosophic democracy, and has aggressively com-

menced the contest to overthrow free government by the law of force. We had tolerated, and could have tolerated slavery, could it have restrained its jealousies, and modified its incidents so as to have kept itself subordinated to the principles of civil liberty and free government. I have labored much while in the South to inculcate the idea that our institutions of every kind must be so managed as not to bring them into antagonism with the fundamental principles of our political organization. I saw these antagonisms culminating for convulsion, and was solicitous, if possible, to prevent an outbreak. In the fall of 1860, just at the close of the presidential campaign, I took an appeal to the slaveholders, in a communication addressed to them, in which I made use of the following language :

"It would be foolhardy to dispute, that every human being has the right to 'life,' 'the pursuit of happiness,' and to every wholesome privilege, consistent with circumstances, necessary to give effect to the last proposition. Anything not founded in principles of fair reciprocity cannot hope to receive, at this day, the assent of cultivated intellect or sensibility. The duration of any institution, government, or exercise of authority, will be measured by the degree of justice that is interwoven into its relationships. This principle, implanted in the nature of things, attaches as much to the relation of master and servant as to anything else. If any one doubt it, let him look at the millions and yearly increasing millions of human beings now in servitude : let him contemplate this increase through a few decades until it swells in prospect to thirty or forty millions ; surrounded by, mixed up with, and ramified with republican institutions and republican sentiment. Who, that has any sagacity, but must know that it is to be governed more and more in the future by the consent of the governed ; and that amelioration will become more and more necessary to promote content, and to command the assent, toleration, and assistance of the governing political force of the whole country. Short-sightedness on this subject, if it prevail, will assu-

redly rue the day that it neglected to think, and to think liberally, and to act wisely and well."

There was a small class of slaveholders, men of enlarged and philanthropic views, through whom I hoped to make the appeal available. There was, and still is, a small class of slaveholders whose philanthropic minds had penetrated every phase of the question and incidents of slavery. They saw the certain perils to the institution that must follow the mad course marked out by the pernicious influences with which it abounded. They sought to avoid the brutalized and mercenary phase that could not fail to bring it into disgrace. They saw the danger of intolerance in striking down the principle of civil liberty. They saw the ultimate danger of the absurdity in the systematic ruffianism that sought to exalt slavery into a divinity. They well understood that this whole process of mental debauchment was only a prelude to the consummation of the treasonable plot that lay beneath the execrable preparation. This small class would have saved, or at least continued slavery, by the only process that the relation of master and servant was capable of being continued. They saw the probable, if not the inevitable destruction of the institution, in case these pernicious influences succeeded in arraying its proprietorship against the national jurisdiction. They saw the imperative necessity of so managing this institution, and the legislation of the state, as not to infract by a too narrow policy the interests of the non-slaveholding masses. They saw the necessity of making the colored man feel that he had a wife, and children, and home, and a country, and, in connection therewith that kind of protection that would make him contented—that should do away with the motives to negro renegadism, and that should make the negro attached to his home, his master and master's interest. In short, these few philosophic-minded slaveholders were in favor of so managing the institution and its incidents as to make it command the tolerating assent of the American mind to its continuance. It should always be borne in mind,

that this small class was the very class that threw around the institution of slavery all the rational respectability it ever had. But how were these men treated by the brutalized influences and ruffian spirit of the great bulk of slaveholders? Ask them and they will tell you that they were set aside as a class whose views were entirely Utopian. Their programme of amelioration was scouted as a process that would be certain to lead to gradual emancipation. In the reasonings of the great bulk of slaveholders, nothing would answer that did not put slavery in the foreground, with everything else subordinated to its behests in "the most abject form of submission. Slavery must be made to rule, and allegiance to that alone was demanded. In the regulation of public opinion, it demanded allegiance. In the legislation of the state, it demanded allegiance. In the judiciary of the state and of the Union, it demanded allegiance. In the government of the Union, it demanded allegiance—and last of all, its demand is made for the abrogation of democratic government in the South, lest the democratic masses at some future day should prove insubordinate to its claims of power.

I ask you again, my friends, in what way do you expect to reconcile these antagonisms? We have tried extension, but it would not answer the purpose; for under it, this antagonism to free government only acquired new force, and grew more imperious in its demands. We have tried compromise, but it would not assuage the jealous antipathies of slaveholders towards free industry. Political partisanship has resorted to the process of debauching public opinion in the North, in order to assuage and reconcile the extravagances of the pro-slavery spirit. This only led to further extravagance on the part of slaveholders. Instead of reconciling antagonisms, the traitors converted this Northern sympathy into the basis of a belief, that large portions of the Northern population would assist them in their plan for throwing off the national jurisdiction. The Supreme Court of the United States kindly undertook to keep the peace by denationalizing

humanity. It would not reconcile the antagonisms. When we can reconcile justice with injustice, truth with falsehood, and virtue with vice, we shall be enabled to reconcile slavery, in its brutalized phases, with free government. When we can prevent an eruption by blocking the crater of the volcano—when we can overcome, by political juggling, the "higher-law" which the Great Ruler has imprinted on the moral universe, we shall be enabled to prevent these antagonisms from culminating in convulsion. I know of no other way, my friends, I can devise no other way, but to go back to first principles, and take good care that we encourage that only which is in harmony with justice and natural rights.

DANGER OF DENATIONALIZING HUMANITY.

Pardon the digression, and allow me to refer you to one example in history. Let me carry your minds to the example of the Dutch Republic and United Netherlands, in the contest with Spain. Here, on the one hand, was a small territory, not equal in extent or population to one of the states of this Union. On the other hand was Spain, then supposed to be the most powerful nation on earth, and most powerfully allied with the brutalized influences of intolerant despotism. Between these powers arose the conflict that involved the great question of civil and religious liberty—in other words, liberalized government. The apparently insignificant power had a great cause in its keeping, and most wisely did it keep that cause by nationalizing humanity. It inscribed upon its banners—"liberty to all"—"rights to all"—"justice to all." On, and on, from generation to generation, through decades of lingering conflict, did this small power wage the contest for human rights. Spain denationalized humanity. She substituted bigotry in the place of reason; brutality in the place of justice; oppression in the place of right. She, too, went on, and on, through that longest contest ever yet endured between opposing antagonisms. But what was her disciplined chivalry without a great cause?

The small power, made great by the greatness of its cause, was ultimately triumphant. Though often distracted by treachery and embarrassed by discouragements, still it rose, and continued to rise, higher and higher, stronger and stronger, until at last it erected and secured the first approved monument to civil and religious liberty. Spain also had her vicissitudes of seeming success and misfortune; but no turn in the tide of affairs could bring to her side enduring strength. She sunk in power. She sunk lower and lower in political debasement. Her chivalry sunk with the sinking of her national morality. So low did the nationality run, that Spain seemed, at the end of her contest against humane principles, to have sunk below the point of national recuperation. The monument she erected to her infamy has for centuries carried on its face the inscription, "Beware of denationalizing humanity." I make this historic allusion, my friends, for the reason that, in this very conflict, those principles of civil, political, and religious liberty were established, that were afterward transplanted on the more congenial soil of America. It was the fountain from which our forefathers drank in the inspiration of free government.

I admonish you, my countrymen, to bear in mind the teachings of history, and add those teachings to your own experience. Put the historic experience of society, of all ages, into the scale of self-evident truth, and you will have established this axiom, "Humane and just principles, as between themselves, never produce convulsions." These convulsions in society arise from opposing forces only. If the incidents of society, which are opposed to justice and natural right, are unduly encouraged, one of two results is inevitable. There must be a convulsion, or there must be a relapse into barbarism. If the common intelligence of society is astute enough, and the moral sense strong enough, to analyze and oppose aggressive wrong, then there will be convulsion until such time as the moral atmosphere is purified. If these are wanting, and aggressive wrong becomes predominant, society sinks, and every-

thing becomes debauched, degenerate, and debased. Violence and despotism step in to inflict the penalty for disobedience to the injunction, which declares "eternal vigilance" to be "the price of liberty."

CERTAIN CALAMITY FROM DISINTEGRATION.

My friends, I have been much pained of late at the discouraging remarks of individuals, implying a supposed necessity of allowing the seceding states to go out of the Union. I have never for a moment deemed any such acquiescence necessary. On the contrary, I have regarded such expressions as the last degree of unmanly and unpatriotic folly. I would say to all such men, if pride of nationality, if the obligations of the Constitution to maintain for the people of all the states "free republican government," are not sufficient to awaken manhood, then take counsel of more rational fear, and hold to the resolution of maintaining the Union on the ground of imperative necessity. Let the danger to free government, even in the adhering states, be heeded; for, let me assure you, that you cannot allow it to be stricken down in any part of the Union without shaking its foundations everywhere.

I admonish my countrymen not to indulge in the idea of an ignominious peace on the basis of a dismembered nationality. Permanent separation would not only blast the political hopes of the democratic element in the South, but it would open to all of us a flood of evils, most painful to contemplate. Suppose we allow these political adventurers of the South to cement their proposed system by the establishment of an order of nobility—a nobility numerous and vigilant, and banded together by the strongest of all human ties, the monopoly of wealth and ambition for continuous and exclusive political power. Mexico, on the south, would fall an easy prey to its ambitious rapacity for empire. Central America would follow. War would be its policy, as it is the necessary policy of all rising nations whose political power is built on the prostration of natural

right. Standing armies would be the only safeguard to national existence when the naturally democratic and anti-democratic elements were commingled in the same nationality. No other policy could hold in subjection the hitherto democratic element in the South. As war would be its policy from necessity, all the preparations for war by land and water would be commensurate with its last stretch of ability. Contemplate patrician Rome in her power, and her suppleness in the application of power, and you have a feeble picture of Southern ability in war, if the power now in the ascendancy succeeds in throwing off the national jurisdiction, and in establishing a cemented slave-aristocracy. This has proved, and would again prove, the strongest political and military power on earth, save one, and that power is democracy. It is even stronger than a democracy that has become demoralized. It has strength, and endurance, and consolidated motive, and suppleness in the application of power, that are competent to overcome all antagonisms, excepting that democratic element which is appreciative of its rights, and determined to act in unity in maintaining them. Let the crumbling dynasties that fell, one after another, before patrician Rome—let Southern suppleness in the application of power under similar impelling influences, be your warning.

Let me warn my countrymen who love free government, to join with one accord in crushing this embryo aristocracy of the South before its power shall have become cemented. Let me admonish them to crush it with the heavy hand before it shall have subjugated beyond disenfranchisement the free labor of the Southern country. If this free-labor element of the South is not effectually assisted in the re-establishment of its political rights, it will be converted into a permanent antagonism of free government. It can be placed on the side of freedom only by being made free. It must have something in the nature of personal security. If it cannot have security on the basis of acknowledged equality in political right, then it must of necessity seek pro-

tection under a cringing and pusillanimous acquiescence in despotism. We have now an example of how much, and what proportion of this population has been turned against the national government by the arts of political fraud and hypocrisy, by coercion, and by the long-continued efforts of slaveholders to debauch its methods of thinking. Imagine what it would become if made homogeneous in Southern sentiment by the destruction of its last hope of freedom under the national ensign. It would have no respect for a government or people that could not give it protection against domestic usurpation. The next generation would be made to hate the North, and the Union government, if we had one. I admonish my countrymen to beware of allowing this democratic element of the South to be turned into an anti-democratic force. If our government cannot disenfranchise, and bring it into the ascendancy, and confirm it in its political rights, it will be thrown against us and against our free institutions with all the hatred that these rival systems can engender. I do not speak the words of idle theory on this subject. I merely reiterate the calculations and programme of the conspirators. I have listened to their calculations of military strength. I have listened to their delineations of the plans and influences which they believed could be brought to bear in making them effective. I know they had persuaded themselves into the belief that the non-slaveholding population of the South could be managed into an element of military strength, not only powerful enough to throw off the national jurisdiction, but, if necessary in the future, to subjugate the North. We shall yet learn, as well as they, whether democracy is strong enough in its cohesive powers to stand against the machinations and compact force of this Southern aristocracy. When we despair on this point, we may as well despair of maintaining free government.

Let us look a little further, my friends, to the probable consequences of political separation, should it once commence. We have already a war debt that would be

formidable for a part of the states to grapple with. That debt promises to be much increased. If we permit the South to go, what motive will the Pacific states have to remain? By what tenure will we be certain to bind them to the country east of the Rocky mountains? What balance of motive will the Northwest have to remain with the east in case the Mississippi is so managed at its mouth as to produce optional convenience or inconvenience upon those above? Of course, the South would repudiate its war debt. It would not commence anew, and for the first time, under its immense load of debt, to talk about the maintenance of its public faith, or of keeping it inviolate. There is not, and never has been, political morality among the leading influences in the South, sufficient to take any efficient step to sustain its public credit. By repudiating the Southern war debt, the traitors would put themselves in a condition to offer terms of accommodation to the Northwestern states, that would exempt those states from much of the burdens of taxation. The speculative delusion of free trade and Mississippi commerce would be held out as an alluring bait, in connection with exemption from taxation to pay interest on the Union war debt. We need not suppose that Southern intrigue would stop with an ignominious peace on our part. Any one who knows the studied hypocrisy and systematic plans of deception, long since made a political trade by Southern traitors, will be able to appreciate the instrumentality through which they work. The treason of the South has already accomplished more through this than by the actual power connected with positive disloyalty. We need not expect that those who have betrayed their government while they disguised the motives to the treachery, will abate any of their efforts to sow sedition by appeals to mercenary passions, or discontent produced by the infliction of public burden. I am as full a believer in the patriotism of my countrymen as most men; and have as much abiding faith in the attachment of my countrymen to free government as it is safe for any one to indulge in; but

let me assure you that such confidence is based upon the whole considerations that cluster to the question of maintaining free government. There must be national pride. There must be the idea of stable government and political security, founded on the prestige of power in nationality. There must be the basis and prestige for keeping the peace, by the power of a name and rank in nationality, without the necessity of standing armies. If we lose these under the demoralizing process of disintegration, and the raising up of rival powers swayed by the delusive reasonings of sectional sedition, the whole basis of that patriotism, which deserves the name of patriotism, will be undermined. Alas! for the time when the aspiration for a great nationality shall have been destroyed.

THE WAR DEBT ENDURABLE IF THE UNION IS SAVED.

There is another phase of these questions which ought to be kept steadily in the public mind. It is true, my friends, that we are rolling up an immense war debt; but let it be remembered that such debt is the result of efforts to maintain free government. We shall have the debt whether we maintain the jurisdiction of the government or not. We cannot escape it; nor can we escape taxation to meet the interest or redeem the principal, unless we go into repudiation under the disabling process created by disintegration. Suppose it reaches the amount of the public debt of England; it will still be endurable and easily borne if we hold our country together. The English debt is cared for by the population of the British islands, embracing a territory about twice as large as New York, with a population of some thirty millions. The colonies of Great Britain contribute nothing. They are a large expense on the British exchequer. The home country—England, Ireland, and Scotland—is casting off the exuberance of its crowded population. It has not home territory upon which to increase its population and expand its home resources. Our condition is entirely different. We stretch from

ocean on the east to ocean on the west—from the St. Lawrence on the north, to the Rio Grande on the south. We have the best agricultural country in the world—more good land than in all Europe. We have the great backbone of the mining wealth of North America—the precious metals in abundance. We have every facility within ourselves for agriculture, commerce, mining, and manufactures, on the broadest and most extended scale. Look to the prospective population, wealth, and resources of this great home country that lie in the almost immediate future. If we maintain our national jurisdiction, and with it attractive free government, what a platform for population, and wealth, and enterprise, and accumulating resources, to exert themselves upon! But a few years in the annals of nationality, and we have one—two—three hundred millions of human beings to take care of this debt—this price of free government. Think you that this posterity will not appreciate the efforts of their fathers to transmit to them free government? This future mass of men, women, and children, would care nothing for the trifle of such a public debt as we may make, if the national unity and free institutions go along with it. Do not, my friends, balk and stall in your efforts, at the idea of an insurmountable public debt. Do right to your principles. Do right to your children. Do right to your posterity. Do right to the hopes of the liberalists all over the world in maintaining free government, and all will be well. Be not discouraged. Again I say, do your duty, and you are on safe ground. You need not be discouraged.

THE COUNTRY WITHOUT THE TRAITORS.

I trust, my friends, that when we rise to the appreciation of the great question, we shall all become free from discouragements—that is, all but the rebel portion of our countrymen. But those atrocious infidels to free government, who have conspired against the political rights of the masses, in the South—who have conspired against the national jurisdiction—conspir-

ed against the democratic principle, because it was "incompatible" with the process of holding men, women, and children, in bondage—what shall we say to them? Were it left to me to make the exhortation and mandate, it would be a very short one: "What are you, rebels! traitors! and conspirators against free government! that you should be regarded but with execration? You, who have deliberately concocted this foul treason—made war upon free principles, and made yourselves responsible for the wholesale murder of your countrymen, and all the distress and misery inflicted by war—what are you, in your present attitude, but a political nuisance that must be abated? You, who have contemned and disregarded the interests and well-being of the twenty-seven millions of your white countrymen, who were pursuing the arts of peace, and obtaining a livelihood by their own industry—you, who have sought to place human slavery in the political foreground, and freedom, and the rights of free men, in the background! There is nothing atrocious that you have not done, or attempted to do. Your mischief has only been limited by your capacity to commit it. You have become an intolerable element of national weakness. You have forfeited, by treason and the murder of your countrymen, all right of protection to person and property. You have now no right but to make the appeal to your injured country for grace and amnesty. You are a small portion of that great population that cannot afford to be put to permanent inconvenience or calamity on your account. Therefore, as you cannot consent to live under democratic government, because it is 'incompatible' with your policy, depart, and find a government to your taste. Make haste in leaving the country, while you may, for the unionists of the South whom you have maltreated, and whose friends and relatives you have murdered in order to stifle the voice of patriotism, will be very apt to bring you to a fearful reckoning. But there is one thing, traitors and rebels! that you will not be permitted to do. No part or portion of this vast domain of freedom, lying between the Atlantic and

Pacific oceans, and between Mexico and Canada, can you take from the jurisdiction of the national government."

BE NOT DISCOURAGED.

I stand here, my friends, as one of the representatives of the unionists of the far South, to tell you, that you need not be discouraged. For years I have been placed in contact with the dishonorable and dishonoring motives of treason. For years I have seen exhibited its calculations of resources, and its delusive ideas of success, based, for the most part, upon the supposed pusillanimity of the North. It is now some years since my voice was silenced on political matters in the South; but while I have been restrained and watched, I have been quite as watchful of the plans of treason. While the traitors of the South have calculated upon and arranged their means of supposed success in throwing off the national jurisdiction, I have contemplated the comparative resources and motives of my countrymen in sustaining it. I have embraced in my calculations the democratic element of the South, knowing that, in a little time under conflict, it must be brought into political affiliation with the North. I have known that this political element in the South, whose rights have been conspired against, could not always be deceived. I have assured myself that calamity would lift the veil of this Southern Mohannah, and disclose the hideous deformity that lay beneath. I have assured myself that our free countrymen of the North would be made to realize the hypocrisy and false pretences of treason, and to appreciate the full meaning of the great conspiracy. Our non-slaveholding masses in the South are gradually getting to understand the question better. The information in the the North with regard to the secret motives of the traitors, is now being rapidly improved. It is the business of the Union men from the far South, coming from the very heart of this rebellion, to stamp the motives of the treason upon the future history of this war. Many Southern voices, hitherto silent, are now engaged in the work of bringing the twenty-seven mil-

lions of free labor, North and South, into political affiliation. Be not discouraged, my friends, for you may rest assured that this democratic force, will, in a little time, be brought into substantial unity.

Let us glance at the different states, and make a hasty comparison of the sections from which our government, on the one hand, and the traitors, on the other, can now draw their sustaining forces. Look at Missouri: with her twelve hundred thousand population, or eleven hundred thousand, exclusive of negroes, one million, at least, is on the side of the Union. The rebels in that state are substantially subdued, and the unionists lending their aid beyond the borders of the state. My friends, be not discouraged.

Look at Northern Arkansas: we find, in a large portion of that state, a Union population. We have the positive assurance that a large majority of the people of that state will embrace with alacrity the Union government, as soon as the assurance of protection can be given. Be not discouraged.

Let us go from Arkansas to Kentucky. She had her traitors, and many of them, leagued with the traitors farther South, who had matured the plan for juggling the state out of the Union. Her democratic element, composed chiefly of the non-slaveholding masses, has proved an overmatch for treason. Though ravaged by war and distressed by domestic treachery, she has maintained her position in the Union. Some thirty thousand of her citizens have gone to the battle in support of the national ensign. Kentucky is substantially on the side of the government of our fathers. Be not discouraged.

Let us, my friends, take a look at Tennessee. I have sojourned in that state, and am somewhat acquainted with the character of its population. In the east, it is similar to the population of Vermont and New Hampshire, as the populations of those states were some forty years ago. It is an independent, liberty-loving population, and no amount of suffering and calamity can drive out the loyalty that is ingrained in its political principles. In middle and western Tennessee there is more disloyalty, but still, a general abid-

ing faith in free government. Treason and loyalty are on the extremes in this state. Andrew Johnson, a representative man of the principles of true democracy, and the friend of free labor, is provisional governor. Things have so changed, that the rebel governor "knows not where to lay his head." Be not discouraged.

"But Western Virginia—there is the rub! Only sixty thousand slaves to four hundred and ninety-four thousand whites," says Mr. Garnett. I am almost disposed to read an extract contained in a letter written by a gentleman from the South. Perhaps its facetiousness may relieve the dulness of my remarks. The writer says:

"Look at Virginia, the mother of states and presidents, and chiefest among dupes. In the spasmodic efforts of her traitors to take her out of the Union, they merely got her head and shoulders out—her nose into the Dismal swamp—her hips and limbs lying over the mountains, refusing to be dragged out—Ohio and Pennsylvania holding her, each by a firm grip on the roots of her tail at the Pan-handle. There she lies in travail, in all the glory of being crawled over and ravaged by contending armies, while a new state is being born of her. Her Washingtons and Jeffersons, her Madisons and Henrys, have departed, while her Lees and her Masons have become degenerate."

Verily, my friends, this is a terrible rub; and perhaps something more of a rub than Mr. Garnett anticipated. Be not discouraged.

Let us pass the puerilities of treason in Maryland and loyal Delaware. Looking at North Carolina, we have the assurance that a large portion of the people of that state, the great bulk of them, however much coerced and cajoled, have never become politically vitiated. The seeds of loyalty are still remaining, and only awaiting the opportunity to spring into vigorous growth. The same is true of a small portion of South Carolina, a considerable portion of Georgia, and a large section of Northern Alabama. In Louisiana and Mississippi there is a strong undercurrent of loyalty, composed

of the democratic element, that will yet, when assisted, show its ability to maintain its rights. The same is true of Florida, and let me repeat, that in all these states there is a democratic element that is destined to go into complete affiliation with the free North. Be not discouraged.

I come now to speak of Texas—of that empire of territory, blessed with the most salubrious climate, and possessing natural advantages in pre-eminent degree. This state was to have been made the priceless jewel in the diadem of the Southern monarchy. Texas, with its diversified agricultural capacity; its flocks and its herds, its pasturage and its cereals, was contemplated as the great military parade ground for the conquest of Mexico, of Central America, of New Mexico and Arizona. This state was to have been the great plateau for sustaining the future armies of the consolidated Southern empire. It was even contemplated that Texas would become, ere long, the seat of power in this imaginary Empire of the South. It required extra manoeuvring to take this state out of the Union. With a heterogeneous population from the different states and from Europe, the people were slow to discover the advantages of treason and disloyalty. The great bulk of the people of this state were never disloyal to the Union. It required the ruffian emissaries of treason from the other states, in coalition with the traitors of Texas, to take the state out of the Union by even a fictitious formula; but which was never endorsed by the popular sentiment or popular judgment. I have not time to describe to you, nor you to hear, the delineation of fraud, chicanery, and imposition, that were practised to delude, or the mobbing and murdering of Union men by the ruffian coercionists. Were a history of these atrocities written, it would be an epitome of human depravity. It will be remembered that the revolutionists, as in all cases over the South, had exclusive possession of the arms. They had armed organizations, and through them had secured, not only the arms, but the ammunition and everything appertaining to the employment of military force. The unionists were unarmed

and defenceless. It is still, however, my pleasure to assure you, that the rebellion of Texas was upon the surface of the public sentiment, not in the hearts of the people. It was the forced phase of political ruffianism. With most of the people, the seeming apostasy was but an unwilling acquiescence, in order to obtain personal security. When the Union army goes to Texas, it will find a friend's country. This is my prophecy, for I know that people, and their attachment to free government, too well to be mistaken. Be not discouraged.

But, again—if a lingering remnant of despondency should still cloud the imaginations of any portion of my fellow-citizens, let me attempt to dispel it by the presentation of an additional phase of circumstances hitherto and now existing. The attempted revolution, thus far, has been carried on by a population in the aggregate of less than three and one half millions of people who were positively disloyal. This would include every human being, man, woman, and child, who have sympathized in the rebellion, and is more than double the number who have sympathized in the secret motives of the treason. The loss of life has been nearly equal on each side. If, then, my friends, the hearthstones of the North have been visited by mourning for patriots stricken down in the defence of free government, what must affliction, by comparison, have been in the South? In what frightful proportion must the Angel of Death have "cast the shadow of his wing" over the abodes of treason? We now know that nearly every habitation of the slaveholder exhibits the habiliments of mourning for husbands, brothers, blood, and kindred, sacrificed in this delusive project to overthrow free government. We now know the extent to which Southern disloyalty has suffered. We now know that it has passed the point where rational conjecture of success stops, and despair becomes the element that lends vigor to the hopeless contest. It matters not as to the determination or mercenary ambition of slaveholders; their assumed superiority, their bravado or bravery. They are met by

equals in all the essentials of effective war. They are now outnumbered in the field, and will continue to be—two—three—four to one. They are nearly exhausted in resources, and cannot much longer, if vigorously pushed, sustain the necessary drift under such discouragements. We are now twenty-four or five millions against three or four millions. The rebellion is to-day existing by the forbearance of the national arms under some mistaken policy that must ere long correct itself. When the imperative word goes forth to the political generals of our armies, "move, or be removed," this rebellion will be closed out in less than ninety days. Be patient, my friends, but be not discouraged.

Again—hearken to the sounds and clang of the hammer in our arsenals, our navy and dock yards. Witness the preparation as keel after keel of the "iron-clads" slips from its ways into the water. But a little time further is necessary before the government will be in a condition to lay the heavy hand, by land and by water, upon this half-exhausted rebellion. If the signs of the times are not deceptive, then, indeed, is the yawning abyss being opened through which this atrocious conspiracy will sink into the gulf of political perdition. Let me say to you, my friends, with emphasis, dismiss your idle fears for the safety of free government, for no one need be discouraged.

UNITY THE SAFEGUARD AGAINST INTERVENTION.

There is another aspect of our national difficulties to which I wish to allude. Much apprehension has been entertained, and much speculation indulged in, as to the probability of an armed intervention in favor of the South. Many of our countrymen have indulged in fears, knowing that the despotisms of Europe sympathized in the project of overthrowing free government in the South. While the privileged classes in Europe have appreciated the causes of our difficulty, and have affected to deplore the existence of slavery, and to treat it as worthy of condemnation only, they have exhibited the

most marked inconsistency. With the knowledge that slavery had raised itself up as the antagonism of philosophic democracy, they have reviled the North, and the efforts of the Union government put forth to sustain the national jurisdiction. The solution of this inconsistency is found in one hypothesis only. They dislike slavery much, but they hate free government, and more especially our example of free government, more. This is the solution of British and European aversion to the North, as expressed to me by a very intelligent ex-member of the House of Commons a few days since.

I admonish my countrymen, everywhere, to bear steadily in mind this basis of hostility to the Union cause. From the beginning, we have had little effective influence through our diplomatic corps in western Europe. It seemed almost certain, at one time, that we must be brought to stand upon the law of force. The voice of the Monitor in Hampton Roads was the first diplomat that was listened to by England or by English political influences. I allude to these matters, my friends, for the purpose of forcing on your minds the necessity of standing, as a solid compact unit, against all antagonisms of free government, whether found in America or Europe. I need not tell you, that our government at Washington has been obliged to look in more than one direction, in its preparations for war. The cause of free government has been beset and surrounded by difficulties. These difficulties still exist, and matters are liable to verge at any time, to that phase of complication that will demand the utmost fortitude and unity of the great democratic family of these states. Let me admonish you, to bear these matters steadily in mind; and, above all, let me admonish you not to allow your firm course of duty to the great cause to be interrupted for a moment, or turned aside by the puerilities of partyism or party ferment. Whatever other incidents there may be in partyism, we must have one party, undivided in sentiment, firm in its determination, steady through all peril; and that party must be composed of the twenty-seven millions of the free white people of this Union,

who are interested in maintaining free democratic government. This is the only party to which I now belong, and it will be my steady purpose to assist, as much as in me lies, to bring this great party into this natural brotherhood of freedom—into effective unity. If we succeed in this, we need not fear intervention. If we succeed in this, we may say to the meddling influences of France:—"What! you presume to interfere in our matters—you, who have so often failed, in the last century, to make a permanent political arrangement of power in your own country—what presumption to interfere with us. Look to your own antagonisms—antagonisms that have nine times culminated in convulsion since free government was established in these states." With unity of the democratic element, we may say to the politically vitiated influences of England:—"Take care of yourselves; we need not your advice on the question of arranging the political power of these states: we know the beneficence of practical democratic government: if it displeases you, because we make as much progress under our system of encouragement in twenty years, as you do, under the dead weight of the House of Lords, in a hundred, look to the correction needed at home. Look to the seeds of your own political discontent, that lie planted on the domain now in dispute between natural right and governmental wrong. The stability of your system depends on the celerity with which you shall have increased justice in the relationships of society. Look to your own concerns, and be your own missionary."

My countrymen, if we do our duty, we need not fear the influences or strength of the rebellion; nor need we fear or quail before those influences in alliance with European powers. If that duty is performed, we shall have none other than free institutions in these states, and those institutions will descend, confirmed and strengthened, to our children. These free institutions are the great birth-right of our present tens of millions, and the future hundreds of millions who are to inhabit the great domain of freedom. I have never yet been nervous over the

question as to whether we should maintain our Union, and free government throughout that Union. This is the only condition upon which we can have peace and political quietude, and our people must know it. While we have been and are beset by antagonisms at home, and threatened by antagonisms from abroad, I have an abiding faith that our countrymen will rise to the magnitude of the great question, and give it their united and triumphant support.

THE CRISIS.

AN ECONOMIC VIEW OF THE PRESENT CONTEST.

(From the American Railroad Journal, October 28, 1863.)

By S. DEWITT BLOODGOOD, New York.

UNDER the surface of all national glory, under all the glare of governments, and all the patriotic devotion of loyal citizens to their country, there is at the bottom a common sense principle on which even the noblest sentiments and the very obligations of duty rest. In other words, however great or honorable may be the character and conduct of any people, it will be found that whatever is admirable has arisen from and out of their material stability, the constant development of their resources, the extension of their enterprise, their uninterrupted progress, and their security "in life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Take these away from any nation, and it retrogrades at once into anarchy, yields to the chain of despotism, or sinks into the grave of oblivion.

All the renown we have gained up to this period, has been accompanied by a solid and accumulating success, the result of our enterprise and industry, of our natural resources developed, of our genius for appreciating them, and a government strong enough for their protection.

This miracle of a fabric, the inspired work of our fathers, unhappily for them and for us, ceased to be what it was in the eyes of our unbelieving brethren of the South. They have therefore sinned against light and knowledge, they have drawn the sword of treason against their country, and with parricidal fury point it at the hearts of their kinsmen and brothers.

The gravest of all questions has arisen in consequence, and we are called in self-defence to consider what course is left to the North to pursue, the most just, the best for the present, and for all time to come. Shall we recognize the right of secession, shall we permit another government to place itself side by side with our own, on the streams and rivers and bays which head in and emerge from our own territory—to receive all they float to the sea, and endeavor by peaceful submission to a new and opposing policy, to smooth down all the differences and asperities about to arise from new boundaries, new associations, new interests, and new intentions?

This is evidently the wish of a large number of very good people even in the North, who are naturally averse from war and bloodshed, who deplore the waste of money and the loss of life, who think no human struggle worth such an outlay, and, with

perhaps an interested feeling, are fearful that their hard-earned or easily-gained wealth, as the case may be, is about to disappear before the unappeasable demands of war and taxation.

Nevertheless, we hold that this view of the subject is wholly unsound and inadmissible. If, for the sake of the personal comfort of such individuals, we abandon our present position, beyond all question, we shall entail on our posterity, of whom millions are to follow us, whole centuries of misery and misfortune. We might have a temporary lull of present calamity, by an armistice, a convention, and a separation; but whirlwinds, hurricanes, and tornadoes, would follow, with more than tropical fury, for ages to come, and wreck us on a shore from which there would be no escape.

United we stand, divided we fall.

This is one of the wise sayings of the past, never truer than at this moment, and it is to its consideration, we earnestly desire to call the attention of our readers, and, passing by all the usual arguments of the forum or the stump, we now appeal to their material interests and their good sense alone.

Let us never forget that all our greatness has been derived from the protecting power of the Republic. Its unity of constitution and of law has made the people of this country until now a band of brothers, and the obstacles to our progress have been comparatively nothing: nothing in the character of our institutions has ever retarded it for a moment. Thus all our public works have had a noble national character. Our Erie canal, though purely a state work, opened a pathway to remote states, and actually benefited them as much, if not more, than ourselves. It depressed the price of land East, and raised it at the West; it lessened the value of grain here, it enhanced it there, yet its construction increased the comfort, the wealth, and the happiness of millions, and these, in a reciprocity guided by interest, have crowded our marts, and have given us a full share of their general prosperity. So of our railways; these have been stretching themselves along mile after mile, until all the states, north, south, east, and west, were connected by apparently indissoluble ties. The pulse of business beat regularly through the body politic, alike through all its veins, and the current of life

and activity was full, healthy, and strong. So in the navigation of our rivers and lakes. The steamers built in New York plied on Southern waters as if in their "native element." The merchant was one day at his counting-house in the city, the next day transacting peaceably his business at St. Louis, and two days afterwards at New Orleans. In every form, in all varieties of action and business relations, we were homogeneous, friendly, and prosperous. All the states had one grand and powerful representative, and an *Aegis* that protected all.

Ours was a national government, with strength and authority enough, not only to decide all domestic differences before a common and a venerated tribunal, but to shield the humblest citizen, native or adopted, in every part of the world.

But let us imagine for a moment what is to become of us and ours, if the Union is to be severed, and what is to be the end of even a peaceable separation.

In the first place, all further security in our future political engagements and contracts is gone forever. If the solemn agreement of the people to remain forever in "perpetual union" (for this was the compact), can now be broken with impunity, what in this world can we ever trust again? If the present faultless Constitution of the country, once at least the palladium of our liberties, and which, like its ancient prototype, appeared to have descended to us from heaven, shall be destroyed by those who once professed for it the greatest love, what other mortal form of words can be substituted with the hope of success and permanence? Who of us can ever trust to any compact again; who will have faith in any other than man can devise? No. The day that marks its destruction by separation of the Union will be the darkest of days; it will be followed by a long, dreary night, on which no cheering ray will ever break again.

But, besides destroying all future confidence in political constitutions, it will leave the states in the most unprotected and hopeless condition. Internal differences, which can not possibly exist under the Constitution as it is, will rise up in endless forms when we have none. The weaker states now politically as strong as the strongest, will have to seek alliance and protection from their nearest and more powerful neighbors. These, if human experience is a guide and history not a lie, will not give the required protection without some equivalent for the service, which will be a state of vassalage at once. The question of boundaries will be a source of perpetual wrangling, the navigation of the western rivers which pass through many territories and empty into the Gulf,

those which debouche into the Atlantic or the lakes, will be interrupted by local duties, as on the Elbe and the Rhine, for each party will seek to diminish its own taxation by laying it on others. Long lines of connecting railways will become an impossibility without tribute of tolls, or payments for right of way, and for the same reason. The tariffs on imports will be as numerous as the states that are in want of money. The currencies and coins of these will also be different, and as unstable as the legislation which creates them, for this will always be for local advantage, and of course always selfish. Travel from one part of the country to the other will be embarrassing, restricted by passports perhaps, and at every few miles in advance it will be through sections politically unfriendly. Confidence in commercial transactions will depart, for want of agreement in interest, from uncertainty in collections, and the costly necessity of appealing to foreign tribunals for the recovery of debts, for such the courts of the states would then practically be. In short, a perfect chaos would be produced out of these fragments of our ruined republic.

Nor would industry, nor even capital, be protected in this condition of things. Every state, and every association of states, would be compelled for self-defence to commence the construction of forts on its borders, just as we have seen them constructed already in the states which have been the seat of war, their capitals would require fortifications, just as Washington and Richmond now do, every pass in the mountain would have to be guarded, and bristle with artillery, every navigable river open to the sea would require batteries at its mouth, or on its cliffs. The whole country would have to be trrenched to protect the states against each other. And forts and navies would require hundreds of thousands of soldiers and sailors to man them. Who, then, would escape taxation? Whose pockets would then be beyond the reach of the collector. And in addition to all this, each state or association of states would be compelled to establish for itself a system of foreign relations and diplomatic service crowding the capitals on this continent and the courts of Europe, at an enormous expense, with third-rate demagogue ministers to keep up the semblance of sovereignty and independence. What advantage could be gained by a change to such a system of small republics? Absolutely nothing, but a loss too great to be at present computed.

All the causes of war usual among nations, would be multiplied here in exact proportion to the number of the parties interested, and no amount of industry or

commerce could stand the exactions of such internal wars. If we take the cost of fortifications, armaments, navies, seamen, and soldiers, which each new fragmentary republic would have to provide, we will find the sum total so vast, as to exceed the actual resources of the states for generations to come. Indeed, the sums we are spending to put down this rebellion are nothing in comparison with those which the new republics would have to expend for self-defence, if not for existence itself. Let us illustrate by an example. Holland, or the Netherlands, has a population of about two millions and a half, a million or so less than the state of New York, but its area is only about one quarter as great. If there is a country in the world which deserves to be prosperous, it is Holland, noted for her bravery, her persevering industry, and her love of liberty. Yet she has ever been the victim of ambitious powers. Decimated alike by the ruthless Spaniards and the insurrectionary French, she still staggers along under a debt of four hundred millions of dollars, absolutely the price of her efforts to maintain her national life. What would Delaware, or New Jersey, or Rhode Island, or any of the small states, with an area less than 11,000 square miles, that being the extent of the country of the Netherlands, what would they do with a future debt of four hundred millions? What would even our great Empire state do with such a debt, when it groans under one of thirty millions incurred for public improvements, now making the richest returns to the treasury.

But it may be said the separation of the Southern states will not lead to any further divisions. He is no statesman who says this. If the Southern states hold the gulf of Mexico as their share of the plunder of our nationality, they hold the navigation of the Mississippi, the Missouri, all their tributaries east and west, and will even tap the Pacific railroad itself. The Western and Northwestern states will be compelled to form treaties for their own protection with the Southern states, to which New England can have no claim to be a party, and against which she will have no right to interfere.

The day will come when divisions between the Eastern and Middle states will arise on various questions, perhaps peculiar to New England. Will New York consent to pay a bounty to the fishermen of Cape Cod?

But we assume the broader principle, that once the unity of the country gone, there is no security any longer for any one of the divided states. Leaders bold, mercenary, ambitious, and unscrupulous, will rise all around us, mushrooms of the hour, just as

they have risen in the South, and, seizing the reins of power, will never let go, till they have fully aggrandized themselves and their families at the expense of the people at large. Let the Union once be divided, and the subsequent divisions will be innumerable.

Will not our readers then come to the conclusion with us, that this Union must and shall be preserved. The loss of money and of life so far is nothing to that which disunion will cost, when we shall be forever divided; the states shot madly from their spheres, armies, navies, taxes, all around us, one perpetual state of war and confusion, national debts piling up by millions of dollars everywhere, no more internal free trade, no strong arm to protect us, no flag, no country, no nationality, a prey to domestic robbery and foreign foes. Such will be the end of this conflict, if the Union is destroyed. Merciful heaven, and shall this be? Shall we listen for a moment to anything like a compromise, which admits the right or principle of secession?

Let us lay aside all other questions, then, and every political error which so easily besets us, and attend solely to the solution of the present difficulty, *by force of arms*. There is no other salvation for us. It will even be a mercy to the Southern rebels to conquer them. They would be utterly ruined by any form of government they have adopted or could adopt. They have been told so by their greatest men long before the rebellion began.* The masses of the people at the South perceive they have gained nothing by the war, and are secretly expressing their disgust and disappointment with their leaders. Let the war continue to the bitter end. There is no other way to save the North or the South. **THE UNION MUST BE RESTORED OR BOTH ARE RUINED FOREVER.**

* In 1851, the Hon. W. W. Boyce addressed the following protest against secession to the people of South Carolina: "South Carolina cannot become a nation. God makes nations, not man. You cannot extemporize a nation out of South Carolina. It is simply impossible; we have not the resources. We could exist by tolerance, and what that tolerance would be, when we consider the present hostile spirit of the age to the institution of slavery, of which we would be looked upon as the peculiar exponent, all may readily imagine. I trust we may never have to look upon the painful and humiliating spectacle."

"From the weakness of our national government, a feeling of insecurity would arise, and capital would take the alarm and leave us. But it may be said, 'Let capital go.' To this I reply, that capital is the life-blood of a modern community, and in losing it, you lose the vitality of the state."

"Secession, separate nationality, with all its burdens, is no remedy. It is no redress for the past; it is no security for the future."

THE DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE.

JUNE, 1862.

THE object of this Association is to unite the governors of the loyal states and the people, in concert of action; and through them, to demand of our constituted authorities the utmost vigor in putting down the rebellion, and removing the cause of it.

The views of the Association are indicated in the following resolutions. Delay in having a settled policy will have no other effect than to exhaust the nation, increase the effusion of blood, and hazard the cause of nationality:

RESOLUTIONS.

WHEREAS, in the present afflicted state of our country, growing out of the evils of warfare, it is proper that all people should be made to understand definitely the causes of the conflict, and motives that underlie the attempt to separate the states of this Union:

It is, therefore, hereby DECLARED and RESOLVED, That the attempted revolution South, which seeks to throw off allegiance to the government of our fathers, has no foundation in grievance, oppression, or unjust treatment from the government; but, on the contrary, the Southern states have equally enjoyed the fostering care, the protection, the honors and emoluments of office, and have participated, in the highest degree, in the patronage of the government.

It is further DECLARED and RESOLVED, That the Southern rebellion had its origin, mainly, in the slaveholders' distrust of the enfranchisement of the non-slaveholding population of the Union—that it is equally as jealous of the seven millions of non-slaveholding population South, as of the enfranchised population of the free states—that the object of the slaveholders has been, and is, to separate the mass of the industrial white population South, from the industrial population North, with a view to disconnect it from its natural political fellowship, whereby the masses South may more easily be placed under the ban of permanent disability by a disfranchisement that would allow it plebeian representation only; in other words, the slaveholders' rebellion had its origin exclusively in the long-contemplated project of PERPETUA-

TING SLAVERY, BY ABROGATING A GOVERNMENT OF MAJORITIES IN THE SOUTH, and thus prostrating the principle of democratic government in Southern politics.

It is further DECLARED and RESOLVED, That the pro-slavery spirit in politics has looked with distrust and hostility to the general education and elevation of the non-slaveholding population South—that those masses can never hope for the adoption of a just Southern policy under the jealous and selfish sway of class and caste; and therefore, to allow the free laboring white population in the Southern states to be separated by force from its natural and sympathizing fellowship of free labor in the North, would lay the foundation of deeper injustice and additional disparagement.

It is further DECLARED and RESOLVED, That the twenty-seven millions non-slaveholding population, North and South, are entitled to the same advantages, and the same political destiny—that they are alike dependent upon their industry for subsistence, and are equally bound by the ties of BROTHERHOOD and political affinity, to uphold the ascendancy of the masses as the voting, governing power of the Union—that it is the duty alike of this population, NORTH and SOUTH, to join the work of mutual protection against the machinations of any class that seeks, ON ANY PRETENCE, the subordination of the masses in any portion of our common country.

It is further DECLARED and RESOLVED, That the provision of the Constitution which guaranties to the people of every state

THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT, is the absorbing provision of our fundamental law, without the maintenance of which, the fabric of democratic government must fall to the ground. It is, therefore, further declared and resolved, that any and every corroding or hostile antagonism to this guaranty of freedom, should be removed without scruple by the strong hand of force; and more especially when the spirit of such antagonism is found plotting treason at home, and seeking the alliance of democracy-haters in Europe, in order to overthrow and bring democratic government into disrepute.

It is further DECLARED and RESOLVED, That all despotism has its origin in the dominion, or attempted dominion, of man over man; that the selfish purposes of the privileged class are the same in both Europe and America—that the subordination of the masses for the benefit of the few, has its origin in the same spirit in both hemispheres; and that the attempt of rebel slaveholders to break up the empire of freedom in America, is well worthy the adulation and sympathy of the privileged classes in Europe, who, in their delusion, are now exulting over the supposed downfall of democracy in the United States.

It is further DECLARED and RESOLVED, That the education of the masses is the best investment that property ever made—that the elevation of the masses is the best guaranty that property ever secured; while the distribution of power through the enfranchisement of the masses is the only foundation of stable government that has both the disposition and wisdom to give protection and maintain the natural rights of man against the usurpations of class and power—that in just such proportion as the respective states of this Union have proceeded upon these principles in combination, and made advancement on this platform, have they secured protection to person and property; manifested adherence to

the government of their fathers, and resisted attempts to overthrow it.

It is further DECLARED and RESOLVED, That the fell influences of slavery have brought into requisition and hostile array, more than a million of American citizens in arms, and mostly of the class who have no proprietorship in slavery; who are dependent on their own industry for subsistence, and who cannot hope to be pensioned on the produce of slave labor—that the wholesale murder of the white industrial population of the Union, now going on, and threatened, is a greater calamity upon our country and its people, than would be the extirpation of every rebel slaveholder in the land.

It is further DECLARED and RESOLVED, That it is alike the duty and sound policy of the United States, to be on its guard against giving cause of offence to other nations, in this, our crisis, growing out of the calamities and irregularities of war: But if we cannot avoid the additional conflict, arising from a determination to dismember the Union through the treasonable influence of a pro-slavery rebellion, stimulated and assisted by sympathizing diplomats of Europe, let us meet the exigency with that fortitude which freemen only know how to maintain. If our land, our government, our people, and their institutions, are to be assailed without their fault, let us teach the lesson to our children, that this resting-place of freedom cannot be effectually polluted by those influences, EVER ON THE ALERT TO UNDERMINE FREE GOVERNMENT.

By order of the Executive Committee.

LORENZO SHERWOOD,
THOMAS EWBANK,
HENRY O'RIELLY,
CHARLES P. KIRKLAND,
GEORGE P. NELSON,
JOHN J. SPEED,
HENRY C. GARDNER.

TEXAN SECESSIONISTS VERSUS LORENZO SHERWOOD.

AN INCIPIENT CHAPTER OF THE REBELLION.

The extraordinary efforts made by the secessionists to drive Mr. Sherwood from the discussion of the Slave Question, as well as from his position in the Texan Legislature, indicated their dread of such an opponent in any fair appeal to the intelligence and patriotism of the masses of the people. The incipient treason quailed before his searching investigations and fearless exposures; and the assaults upon him culminated in a movement of the secessionists at Galveston for silencing his voice upon the all-important topic which now forms the "corner-stone" of the rebel confederacy. The proceedings in this case form an extraordinary feature in the history of these eventful times. They are worthy of special attention now, when the whole land is convulsed by the evils thus early foreshadowed and denounced by Mr. Sherwood. The record needs no commentary beyond the honest emotions of every loyal reader, South or North. That record is here copied from Olmstead's *Travels in Texas* (pages 505-6 of Appendix), as quoted in that volume from the Galveston News of 1856—with all the passages italicized as we find them in the book—the extraordinary character of the language well warranting the typographical distinction thus conferred by Mr. Olmstead, in his valuable work:—

Proceedings of a Public Meeting in Galveston, Texas.

(From the Galveston News, 1856.)

At a meeting of the citizens of Galveston convened to take into consideration the propriety of PERMITTING Lorenzo Sherwood to address the people in defence of his course in the last Legislature, Col. Samuel M. Williams was called to the chair, and Alfred F. James appointed secretary, when, after explaining the object of the meeting, it was

Resolved, That the following letter, prepared and read by Mr. Ballinger, be addressed to Mr. Sherwood, as embracing the views and sentiments of this meeting, in relation to his contemplated address:

"GALVESTON, July 7, 1856.

"LORENZO SHERWOOD, Esq.—Sir: At a public meeting of the citizens of Galveston, convened this morning at the Court House,

in consequence of your public notice that you would make an address this evening, in defence of your course in the last Legislature, it was unanimously resolved to notify you of the well-considered sentiments and resolute determination of the people of Galveston, as follows:

"That your right, in common with every other citizen, to free opinion, free discussion, and the largest liberty of self-defence, is fully recognized, and will be respected.

"But there is one subject connected with your course in the Legislature—that of slavery—on which neither you, nor any one entertaining your views, will be permitted to appear before the community, in a public manner. That your views on that subject are unsound and dangerous, is the fixed belief of this community, caused by your own speeches, writing, and acts.

"We are aware that, either actually or seemingly, you wholly misapprehend the real views of the people of Texas, and suppose that, by explanation and argument, you can make your anti-slavery theories and plans inoffensive and acceptable. How far this should be attributed, on your part, to delusion, and how far to design, is not material. The slavery question is not one which is open to you before us.

"You are, therefore, explicitly and peremptorily notified, that, in your speech, you will not be permitted to touch, in any manner, on the subject of slavery, or your opinions thereon, either directly or indirectly, or by way of explanation, or otherwise. Under the pretext of the personal right of self-defence, you will not be tolerated in any attempt to defend your course in the Legislature on this subject, which was an aggression on the rights, and an outrage on the feelings, of the State of Texas, and much more on those of the people of Galveston, whom you misrepresented, than any other.

"The entire subject of slavery, in all its connections, is forbidden ground, which you shall not invade.

"Your introduction of it in any manner, will be the prompt signal for CONSEQUENCES TO WHICH WE NEED NOT ALLUDE.

"It has been asserted that you have some supporters in this community upon that subject. We trust not. But if so, and if they

have sufficient presumption to undertake to sustain you, in any further discussion of this subject before the people, *they will make this evening the occasion for the definite and final settlement of that issue, both as to you and to them.*

"We trust, however, that you will confine yourself to matters of legitimate public interest and discussion, and will not, hereafter, either in public or private, further abuse the patience of a people with whom, on that question, you have no congeniality, and whom you wholly misunderstand.

"This communication will be read to the assembled public before you proceed with your speech; and you will clearly understand, is not to be the subject of any animadversion by you."

The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Wm. P. Ballinger, P. R. Edwards, Hamilton Stuart, Thomas M. Joseph, B. C. Franklin, Samuel M. Williams, F. H. Merriman, Oscar Farish, M. B. Menard, Noah John, and Joseph J. Hendley.

Col. Samuel M. Williams, Judge B. C. Franklin, Wm. P. Ballinger, Esq., and Col. E. McLean, were appointed a committee to deliver to Mr. Sherwood a copy of the letter addressed to him by this meeting.

On motion of Hamilton Stuart, Esq., all those opposed to the action taken by this meeting were requested to withdraw, whereupon Messrs. Joseph J. Hendley and Stephen Van Sickle retired.

The meeting then adjourned, to meet again this evening, at the place appointed by Mr. Sherwood to deliver his address.

SAMUEL M. WILLIAMS,

Chairman.

A. F. JAMES, Secretary.

It was an evil day for the traitors of Texas when they grappled in hostility with Col. Hamilton and Mr. Sherwood. These

were the two leading intellects of that state in the Union cause. For many years they were the most dangerous antagonists the conspiracy had to deal with. The recent speeches and writings of these two gentlemen confirm the truth that the traitors were not mistaken.

Lorenzo Sherwood, a member of the New York Legislature before going to Texas, is remembered by the old democracy of New York as one of the leading men who assisted in bringing forward the great Constitutional Reform movement that resulted in the convention of 1846—the effects of which were quickly felt in stimulating a reform in the organic laws of nearly every state in the Union.

To Mr. Sherwood's efforts and advocacy of that measure, are the people of this state quite as much indebted as to any one else, for the adoption of those provisions establishing our public credit, our improved banking system, and the protection of our canals from future sale.

Col. Hamilton will be remembered as the last Union Representative in Congress from Texas—faithful among the faithless—unflinching amid the fires of rebel persecution; and now deservedly appointed as a General, and as Provisional Governor of Texas.

Both of these gentlemen, now taking advantage of their large experience and astute views concerning the motives of the rebellion, are hurling upon the traitors the great "political moral" of the whole question. Under their teachings, the tide of public indignation is being rolled back upon the rebellion, in that crushing form which insures ultimate success for the great principles of democracy involved in the present contest.

HENRY O'RIELLY.

New York, December, 1862.